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Imagining Europe from the Outside: The Role of Perceptions of Human Rights in Europe in Migration Aspirations in Turkey, Morocco, Senegal and Ukraine¹

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Introduction²

During the last decade, debates about the meaning of Europe have been prominent in various disciplines (Christiansen *et al.*, 2001; Malmberg and Stråth, 2002; De Teyssier and Baudier, 2006; Wilson and Millar, 2007). With the enlargement of the European Union (EU) to 28 Member states, discussions about what exactly Europe is and where it is going are gaining importance (Stråth, 2006). However, perceptions of Europe are usually studied from within the EU. In contrast, perceptions of Europe from the viewpoint of non-EU states and their citizens remain largely unexplored – although the field is growing, as this volume demonstrates. The concept of Europe is now of interest not only to European societies but also elsewhere in the world (Wilson and Millar, 2007). Human rights and democracy are central features of the EU, also in its international policies and in its migration and asylum policies. The international EUMAGINE research project,³ which ran from 2010 until 2013 covering four major emigration and so-called transit countries, studied the links between such outside perceptions of the democracy and human rights of Europe and the desire to migrate to Europe. Given that democracy and human rights are core values of the EU, the focus on the role of perceptions of human rights and democracy in migration aspirations and decision-making fits in with (EU) policy as well as academic needs.

The basic assumption of the EUMAGINE project was that migration aspirations, decisions and behaviour are linked to perceptions of democracy and human rights (Carling, 2002), such as corruption, safety and security, freedom of expression, cultural freedom, job opportunities, social security and quality of health care/schools. The implementation of effective and proactive migration and human rights policies, maintaining and stimulating national and international competitive economies, has gained high political priority throughout the world. Perceptions of Europe and subsequent migration-related motivations and behaviour are shaped within origin and/or transit regions. A thorough insight into the way in which these perceptions, motivations and behaviours are formed is therefore a prerequisite for an effective and proactive human rights and migration policy. Such an insight is ideally realized by means of a non-Eurocentric analysis within important source countries. Until the EUMAGINE project, systematic empirical research on perceptions of human rights and democracy, and migratory aspirations from the viewpoint of potential migrants during this pre-migratory phase, remained limited (Boneva and Frieze, 2001). Various recent studies (e.g. de Haas, 2010; Timmerman *et al.*, 2013a) on international migration point to the importance of discourses and imaginations about migration and possible destination countries in generating and perpetuating migration aspirations and decisions. The discourses and imaginations related to democracy and human rights may focus at an individual (the specific rights of immigrants and asylum-seekers) or at a more general level (human rights in a free marketplace and a social welfare state characterized by the rule of law and democratic limited government). The extent to which policy with regard to the rights of immigrants (e.g. limitation of procedural guarantees in matters of immigration or the right to family reunification), human rights in general and democratic government in the EU and its member states may have an effective impact on immigration patterns will depend on the said discourses and imaginations. Within contemporary scholarship, however, the attention to transnational human rights and democracy focuses primarily on the institutional aspects and the appeal to institutional mechanisms by individuals. The effects of democracy and human rights in other domains, such as their role in migratory movements, remained largely unstudied (Battistella, 2005; Caloz-Tschopp and Dasen, 2007). Yet the following aspects of democracy and human rights in the EU, and their conceptions, perceptions and the discourse thereon in source countries, could play an important role in the migratory process: free elections (including the passive and active political rights necessary

thereto, such as freedom of opinion, right to vote, right to be elected and freedom of political association); parliamentary democracy; rule of law (limited government; separation of powers; independent and impartial judicial review); individual rights and freedoms; social, economic and cultural rights and freedoms (including the relevance of a free market space and social welfare state); and recognition of multiculturalism. EUMAGINE explored the role that various types of discourse (media, politics, people and cultural artefacts) play in constructing perceptions of human rights and democracy in Europe as well as migration aspirations. This interest in individual-level processes, such as perceptions, aspirations and decision-making, is in line with trends in international migration studies (Massey, 1998; De Haas, 2010).

The EUMAGINE project developed a definition of human rights that focuses on one's capability to act in such a way as to take control of one's life and realize one's fundamental purpose. This concept of capability focuses on the agency of individuals and groups to change their life circumstances and to escape from disadvantaged positions. By looking at the actual capabilities of people to improve their wellbeing (and their comparative perceptions thereof in sending and receiving countries), it allows the inclusion of a large set of variables affecting people's aspiration to migrate. Within a capabilities framework, migration is an integral part of human development for two reasons. On the one hand, people can only move if they have the capability to do so by having access to social, human and financial/material capital (de Haas, 2009). On the other hand, if people increase their freedoms through expanding their social, economic and human capital, this tends to coincide with increasing potential levels of mobility or aspirations to migrate. So the act or the possibility of moving in itself can add to people's wellbeing. This is the intrinsic argument why mobility can also be defined as a human right. The more instrumental reason is that the act of migrating – the move to a place offering more opportunities in terms of work, education, political rights, safety and health care – may also give people the capability to increase their social, economic and political freedoms, and the prospect of acquiring such capabilities often strongly motivates people to (aspire to) migrate (de Haas, 2009). The same approach of socially constructed conceptualization was applied to both Europe and other possible destinations. Europe and other destinations were conceived as socially and discursively constructed locations, leaving space for respondents to elaborate their perceptions freely. Malmborg and Stråth (2002) argue that 'Europe is an imaginary discursive construction, emerging out of nation state debates within the imaginary

frame of a European identity.’ This holds equally true for other possible destination regions, since the majority of potential migrants never actually visited these places and usually possess limited information about possible destination countries (Efionayi-Mäder *et al.*, 2001). Media discourses and discourses of returned migrants, friends and family abroad are important sources in creating perceptions and imaginations regarding the democracy and human rights situation of possible asylum and migration destinations (Koser and Pinkerton, 2004). This limited, second-hand information, often responding to locally emerging social and material needs, appeals to the perceptions of potential migrants of certain destinations. In this context the EUMAGINE project specifically explored the perceptions of persons in source countries about human rights and democracy, and analysed the link between these perceptions and migration aspirations in particular.

The main hypothesis underlying the project was that the perceptions of the human rights and democracy status in the home country and in Europe impact on individuals from so-called ‘cultures of emigration’, where migration has become deeply rooted in people’s behavioural repertoire (Massey, 1998). This culture of emigration – observable in popular discourses, media discourses, cultural artefacts and social networks – weighs heavily on potential migrants’ perceptions, aspirations and behaviour (Collyer, 2006; Pang, 2007; Timmerman, 2008). For this reason the EUMAGINE project operationalized perceptions of human rights and democracy issues, which are socially and culturally constructed, in a process mediated by, among other things, various discourses on and representations of Europe and migratory flows in the regions of origin. The term ‘discourse’ was understood in a broad sense so as to encompass representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced and legitimized (Gregory, 2000). The project did deliberately not only aim to analyse these perceptions of migrants who already decided to move to Europe, but also included perceptions of non-migrants. For theoretical and methodological reasons, the project analysed perceptions of human rights and democracy of potential migrants – but also the large number of people who do not, perhaps yet – wish to move.

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Hence the ultimate goal of the EUMAGINE project was to gain an insight into how migrants and non-migrants from source countries perceive human rights and democracy-related issues at the local, regional, national and international levels on the one hand, and how these perceptions affect their migration aspirations on the other. These perceptions, motivations and decisions are invariably constructed

within the settings of the source countries. People draw from a variety of local, national and international sources as they gather information about, and shape their perceptions of, human rights and democracy-related issues (Anderson *et al.*, 2002). Thus these perceptions, aspirations and decisions are socially and culturally embedded. This observation is especially relevant to regions with a long tradition of emigration, where migratory flows have reached a certain momentum through network and other effects and, consequently, have become self-sustaining (de Haas, 2008).

Conceptual framework

The project is based on a specific analytical framework which has informed the project design (see Figure 9.1). Attempts to migrate to Europe are evidently preceded by the development of perceptions of human rights and democracy in Europe and in the home country, and aspirations to migrate. These aspirations could be very broad wishes to go to Europe or elsewhere, or more specific preferences in terms of destinations and modes of migration (e.g. through family reunification, family formation, temporary work programmes, asylum or illegal entry). Migration-related perceptions and aspirations develop within a specific cultural, political-juridical and economic setting, which has been referred to as 'the emigration environment' (Carling, 2002). This is also important to research because persons in an emigration environment have specific perceptions of human rights and democracy-related issues.

Three levels of explanation are distinguished in this project: the macro-, meso- and microlevels (Faist, 2000, pp. 30–35) (Figure 9.1). The macrolevel includes the factors that are common to all potential migrants, such as national policies on emigration and immigration, the overall economic and political situation in the country, the mass media, and the human rights and democracy level. The mesolevel encompasses the factors in between the individual and the society at large (Goss and Lindquist, 1995). Most important are the local and transnational networks through which people collect information and exchange ideas. Finally, the microlevel concerns characteristics of individuals. Perceptions are shaped not only by the human rights conditions within a country but also by individual-level factors, such as gender and political allegiance (Carlson and Listhaug, 2007). The resulting aspirations to migrate are moreover clearly influenced by gender, age, educational attainment, labour market situation, political-juridical status and so on.

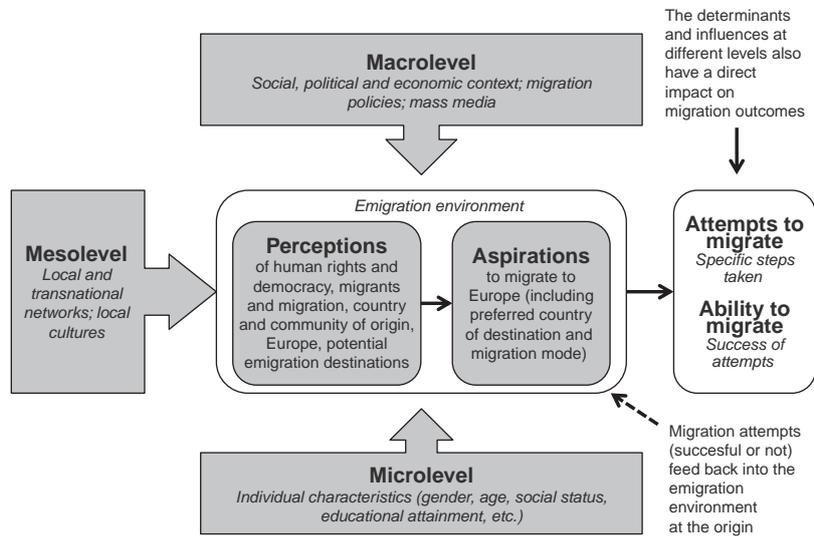


Figure 9.1 Three levels of explanation

An important force in the framework is the feedback arrow, stressing the dynamic nature of migration-related perceptions and aspirations. Each act of migration has an impact on the context in which subsequent migration decisions are made (Massey, 1998).

The core notion underlying the EUMAGINE project was that macro- and mesolevel discourses on human rights and democracy affect microlevel perceptions of such topics in countries of origin and transit, and that this will in turn help to shape migratory aspirations and decisions. This central idea encompasses two major assumptions. First, it was assumed that these perceptions, aspirations and decisions are socially and culturally embedded – that is, largely influenced by the context in which they are structured. Within this framework, the main hypothesis was that policy, media and popular discourses on human rights and democracy impact on the imagination of migration as a valuable life project ('migratory imaginations') as well as on imaginations of specific destination countries ('geographical imaginations'). Second, it was hypothesized that these perceptions and imaginations correlate positively with migratory aspirations. Hence if attitudes towards and conceptions of immigration countries or regions are positive, they are more likely to feature in migration aspirations and to be chosen as migration destinations. Conversely, if individuals hold negative views

of migration as a life project or of immigration destinations, they are less likely to aspire to migration or to opt for emigration to such places.

By assigning a potentially influential role to prospective migrants' perceptions in the shaping of their migration aspirations and decisions, it was assumed that migrants' individual choices and their capacity to act upon their aspirations were also important. At the same time it was fully acknowledged that various factors in the migration environment can interfere with the direct relationship between motivations and behaviour, including the existence of social networks, the availability of economic resources, trafficking and other migration-inducing factors. Therefore, while the agency of potential migrants was taken as a starting point for the research project, much attention was also dedicated to processes unfolding in ~~the person and~~ the direct environment of the migrant.

Perceptions of job opportunities and of corruption in migration aspirations

Aiming to present a dynamic non-Eurocentric analysis of the impact of perceptions of human rights and democracy on migration aspirations in important source countries, the EUMAGINE project focused, as stated earlier, in particular on the contribution of such perceptions of migration aspirations and decisions in emigration and so-called 'transit' regions outside the EU. Four related themes were addressed: (1) the relation between perceptions among people living in selected source countries of the human rights and democracy situation in the EU and in their own country and their migration aspirations; (2) the influence of human rights and democracy-related perceptions on migration compared with the effect of other migration determinants; (3) the extent to which migration is perceived as a valuable life project; and (4) how potential migrants compare Europe with other major destination regions, such as the USA, Russia, Canada and Australia, in relation to their perceptions of human rights and democracy (Timmerman *et al.*, 2010). For the purpose of this chapter, only the results from the first two research questions are considered.

The project included four countries that are known to be important emigration countries to Europe and for their specific human rights and democracy situation: Morocco, Turkey, Senegal and Ukraine. These reflect similar trends concerning international migration in the sense that they are hubs for immigration and so-called 'transit' migration, while emigration towards the EU and a variety of other countries continues. Except for Turkey, all three countries have negative net migration

rates, and remittances constitute a significant share of the gross domestic (GDP). Remittances are most prominent in Senegal, followed by Morocco and Ukraine, yet in Turkey the share of remittances to GDP is only 0.15 per cent (Berriane *et al.*, 2011; Demba Fall *et al.*, 2011; Korfali *et al.*, 2011; Vollmer *et al.*, 2011).

To guarantee an insight into the diversity of perceptions, aspirations and motivations within each country, four types of research area were chosen in each country: the first characterized by high-emigration rates; the second with comparable socioeconomic characteristics yet low emigration rates; the third with a strong immigration history; and the fourth with a specific human rights situation.⁴ A detailed questionnaire was developed over a ten-month period, including extensive pilot testing in each research area. Questions covered household migration histories, individual migration aspirations, perceptions of human rights and democracy, and a range of other topics. For the survey, a representative sample of 500 respondents aged 18–39 within each of the 16 research areas was identified by using a stratified cluster sample with random walks (Ersanilli, 2012, pp. 3–11). The qualitative data collection took place among 320 informants (80 for each of the four countries, 20 in each research area) through in-depth semistructured interviews. There was a purposeful selection of respondents according to gender, age, occupational status, migration experience and migration aspirations (De Clerck *et al.*, 2011; De Clerck, 2012).

As mentioned before, the EUMAGINE project applied a broad definition of human rights and democracy, comprising concepts of negative as well as positive freedom. Incorporated as ‘negative rights’ into the project are democracy and political rights (democracy and state/police corruption), safety and security, individual liberties (freedom of expression and cultural freedom) and women’s rights. The ‘positive definition’ of human rights and democracy applied by the project encompasses not only quality of and access to employment and social security, but also fairness in other domains of societal life, such as access to education and equality between men and women. Questions in the survey therefore covered not only the issues of corruption and job opportunities, but also the perceptions of the access to and quality of social institutions, such as schools, medical care, cultural rights and so on (Ersanilli *et al.*, 2011).

A first analysis of the survey results by Jolivet and de Haas, concentrating mainly on the role of perceptions of job opportunities and on the prevalence of corruption in Europe and the own country, only partially confirmed the hypotheses regarding the impact of these perceptions

on migration aspirations (De Clerck *et al.*, 2012). This first preliminary analysis considered two basic hypotheses for the multivariate analysis. First, there is a negative relation between the perceived human rights and democracy in the current country of residence and migration aspirations. Second, there is a positive relation between the perceived degree of human rights and democracy in Europe and the aspirations to migrate (Ersanilli *et al.*, 2011). Overall, the initial analysis results provided confirmation of the EUMAGINE project's principal hypothesis: it was empirically demonstrated that perceptions do matter in shaping migration aspirations.

It was similarly assumed that several factors at the mesolevel affect people's migration aspirations. The cross-country analyses, as described by Jolivet and de Haas (in De Clerck *et al.*, 2012), pointed at the relevance of belonging to transnational family networks in considering migration. The specific community to which people belong is equally expected to influence their migration aspirations. As mentioned earlier, within each country, four research areas were selected that are affected to varying degrees by emigration and/or democracy and human rights issues. Regions characterized by a 'culture of migration' – the high-emigration research areas in our research design – were expected to record the highest migration aspirations. This appeared to be specifically the case for Morocco, where migration aspirations were very outspoken in the high-emigration research area. In Turkey, however, the opposite was observed. Further research, confirmed these opposite observations for Morocco and Turkey (Timmerman *et al.*, 2013b). While not significant in the analyses described by Jolivet and De Haas (De Clerck *et al.*, 2012), the survey results for Turkey do provide an indication that migration aspirations are lower in the high-emigration research area than in the low-emigration research area. Further research, but then specifically focusing on comparing the high and low emigration region in Turkey, respectively Emirdağ and Dinar, did find that people in Emirdağ had significantly lower migration aspirations than similar people in Dinar (Timmerman *et al.*, 2013a). This negative effect on the migration aspirations of those living in a migration-impacted region is mainly explained by the migration aspirations of men, which proved to be significantly lower in Emirdağ than in Dinar. However, for women we found the reverse. In line with our initial expectations, based on the mechanisms of 'cumulative causation' as described by Douglas Massey (1998), we found that in the Turkish high emigration region (Emirdağ), women had slightly more migration aspirations than similar women in Dinar (Timmerman and Hemmerchts, 2013). This is

an interesting gender difference, which we will return to later in this chapter.

One possible explanation is that, in the Turkish high-emigration research area, where many people have relatives who are already living in Europe, negative feedback about the situation in Europe is received via these transnational family networks. Given Turkey's positive economic prospects, this negative feedback may be assumed to constitute a disincentive for migration. This effect may also be assumed to be less in evidence in the other, lower-emigration research areas, which are less strongly connected to Europe through transnational family networks. In Morocco, where the economic outlook is less positive, the balance is still in favour of Europe, as demonstrated in both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses. This suggests that macro- and mesolevel characteristics are instrumental in explaining migration aspirations. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that, in Turkey's high-emigration area, the stock of potential migrants has simply been exhausted, as a consequence of the high emigration rate observed in recent decades. However, it has to be noted that for women this argument does not hold because, contrary to men, women in the high emigration region have slightly higher migration aspirations than ~~similar~~ women in the low emigration region. In addition, evidence was found for the relevance of several individual and/or household characteristics in predicting migration aspirations. It was demonstrated that factors such as gender and lifecycle-related variables (~~such as~~ age and marital status) affect people's desire to emigrate. Household wealth and education also play a significant role, but to considerably varying extents across countries and research areas (Jolivet and de Haas in De Clerck *et al.*, 2012).

In a second stage of the analysis, concentrating on the cross-country quality data analysis, a general tendency emerged among the informants in the four research countries – irrespective of the research area and the main sociodemographic characteristics of the informants – to perceive the domestic economic situation in general and the availability of jobs in particular quite negatively, while they perceived these aspects more positively in Europe. There is also ample qualitative evidence in all four countries to illustrate the prevalence of pessimism when it comes to finding work in the home country. A lack of employment opportunities was frequently mentioned by informants in discussions of the domestic economic situation during the qualitative interviews. By contrast, informants talked in a distinctly more positive way about job opportunities in Europe. According to the Moroccan informant quoted⁵ below,

the positive aspects of Europe are the job opportunities and the good salaries:

Can you tell me something positive about Europe?

Job opportunities, people don't live in poverty there like they do here.

Are there other advantages in Europe?

Like I said, there you can have a job, you can live like a human being, you have a better salary than here. Even with regard to studies, Europe is better than here.

(Morocco, low emigration research area, female, 18–22 age group, without migration aspirations)

Moreover, it was found that when informants from all four countries expressed their views about the economic situation and the availability of jobs in respectively their own country and Europe, they tended to relate this directly to their migration aspirations. Negative perceptions of the domestic economic situation (job opportunities) and positive perceptions of the European economy (job opportunities) were identified as major incentives for migrating to Europe. Conversely, if job opportunities in their own country are perceived positively, then the informants indicated no desire to migrate. One Senegalese informant explained that people prefer to work in Europe because of higher pay than in Senegal:

People prefer working in Europe, no matter what the job is they prefer to work in Europe because they believe that here in Senegal they are not well paid.

(Senegal, high immigration research area, female, 18–22 age group, without migration aspirations)

A Turkish informant said that she would migrate to Europe if she could because it offered better job prospects. However, if she were able to find a job in her own country, she would not migrate:

What would be the main thing that attracts you to Europe?

It would be employment. I would not go to Europe if job prospects at home were good. If I could find work here, I wouldn't go there.

(Turkey, low emigration research area, female, 18–22 age group, with migration aspirations)

The qualitative data analysis in the four countries thus confirms the unequivocal link between the informants' perceptions of job

opportunities in their own country and in Europe on the one hand, and their migration aspirations on the other. As in the case of perceptions of job availability, the qualitative cross-country data analysis revealed a general tendency among informants from Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine to perceive the level of corruption in their own country much more negatively than corruption levels in Europe – that is, they regarded corruption to be far less common or even almost non-existent in Europe. There was a broad consensus among informants in Ukraine that horizontal and vertical corruption is widespread in their country. They often associated corruption with access to work, health care and education:

Now let's move on to the issue of corruption. This question may seem rather direct, but do you believe corruption is a problem here [in Ukraine]?

Of course it is. It's everywhere, all around us. Even in hospitals we're told: buy us this or that, and we'll do what you want us to do.

(Ukraine, low emigration research area, male, 23–30 age group, with migration aspirations)

The perception that there is widespread corruption in the home country and none, or far less, in Europe was shared by most of the informants interviewed in Turkey, Senegal and Morocco.

Is there corruption here in Tinerhir?

You can do nothing without corruption in Morocco, and especially in Tinerhir, because when you wait your turn in one of the government offices to get a document, you can see persons that come in later, yet, they go directly to the civil servant by jumping the queue because they know him or someone else in the office. The root of corruption is with the citizens themselves and with the civil servants. Because when you give *bakchich* to a civil servant, and someone else gives *bakchich* as well, that is how corruption is stimulated. The civil servants get used to receiving money before doing anything

(Morocco, high emigration research area, male, 23–30 age group, with migration aspirations)

By contrast, views about the prevalence of corruption in Europe are more optimistic:

These days you hear about insecurity, corruption, criminality... do you think these things exist in Europe?

No, from what I know, corruption, criminality and insecurity are much more present here in Africa than in Europe. In Europe, security is taken care of.

(Senegal, human rights research area, male, 23–30 age group, without migration aspirations)

Unlike the perceptions of the economic situation (job opportunities), however, no qualitative evidence was found of individuals explicitly linking perceptions of corruption levels in their home country and in Europe with their own migration aspirations. Whereas informants in the four research countries tended to connect their perception of job opportunities at home and in Europe directly with their migration aspirations, this was not the case with corruption. As mentioned before, human rights in the EUMAGINE project were not solely perceived in terms of political rights (corruption, safety and security, democracy, etc.) but also in terms of socioeconomic and cultural rights, such as quality of and access to social security, health care and education (~~Ersanilli et al., 2011~~). Therefore it was deemed necessary to also look for qualitative evidence regarding the potential influence of these other democracy and human rights related determinants of migration aspirations.

Education, equal gender opportunities, networks and lifecycle factors

Cross-country qualitative data analysis pointed at the substantial impact of perceptions of educational opportunities in their own country and in Europe on respondents' migration aspirations (De Clerck *et al.*, 2012). Informants in all four research countries tended to perceive educational opportunities in their own country more negatively than those in Europe. Moreover, positive perceptions of educational opportunities in Europe (for either the informants themselves or for their children) were commonly cited as a reason for migrating to Europe, as illustrated by the following interview extract from Morocco:

Which other motives may people have to migrate?

Those who wish to assure a good education for their children, take them abroad. Because, their schools are really well developed and equipped.

(Morocco, high emigration research area, female, 18–22 age group, without migration aspirations)

Qualitative data analysis also revealed that migration aspirations are shaped not only by perceptions of educational opportunities in Europe but also by perceptions of gender equality in the home country and in Europe. In general, gender equality was perceived to be less at home than in Europe. Interview data from a number of informants pointed at a relationship with migration aspirations: a more positive perception of gender equality in Europe than in the home country was cited as an incentive for migration to Europe:

And over there in Europe, are men and women equals?

Yes, there men and women are equal. Because a woman can do the same thing as a man. There, women are not beaten, they are not humiliated. Nor are the children. Yes, . . . she is equal over there. Yes, sure, life is the same for men and for women there. Because they have the same rights.

(Senegal, low emigration research area, female, 23–30 age group, with migration aspirations)

Interestingly, it appeared that male informants shared the perception of greater gender equality in Europe than in their own country:

Could you tell me something about the equality between men and women in Europe?

Women in Europe find themselves in a good situation, she has the same rights as men, there is equality between the sexes. The situation of the woman over there is better than the situation of the Moroccan woman; she is well educated because of historical, economic and social reasons. Women in Europe can have the same job as men, maybe better even. Because over here, there is not yet sufficient confidence in the capability of women

(Morocco, high emigration research area, male, 23–30 age group, with migration aspirations)

As mentioned before, the EUMAGINE project set out to analyse how perceptions of human rights and democracy-related aspects affected migration aspirations, and to compare their impact with that of other determinants of migration. It emerged from further data analysis that in addition to education and gender equality, three family-related variables were relevant: (1) belonging to transnational family networks; (2) marital status; and (3) having children. Strikingly, the qualitative evidence for the influence of these family-related variables on migration

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aspirations was stronger among female than among male informants. Informants – mainly women – in the four research countries mentioned transnational family networks as a condition for migration, as the following interview extract illustrates:

What are desirable migration destinations to Ukrainians, particularly yourself or possibly your friends? What country would you or most other people want to migrate to?

Well, there was a time when many women moved to Italy to work; others emigrated to Portugal. But there isn't really any particular country. Some go to Germany, others to France. It depends on the individual, and whether they have relatives or friends out there who can help them find a job and a place to live.

(Ukraine, high emigration research area, female, 23–30 age group, with migration aspirations)

Similarly, this Senegalese female informant expressed her preference for certain destinations because of the presence of relatives or friends who could provide assistance:

Would you leave Senegal? Where would you go?

Perhaps I could go to France, or Italy. Perhaps I would go to the US.

Why these countries?

Why would I choose these countries? Because there is where I have more family members residing, if I were to go there, they would help me.

(Senegal, low emigration research area, female, 23–30 age group, with migration aspirations)

Two further family-related variables were identified in the interviews as important to the shaping of migration aspirations – namely, marital status and having children. Informants – again mainly women – in the four research countries mentioned matrimony and parenthood as reasons not to aspire to migration.

What would your reasons be for staying here in Istanbul or in Turkey more generally?

If I were to find an employer who values my opinion, does not exploit me or demand that I do this or that, then I would stay here . . . because family relations are very important to us. That's why I would prefer to stay here.

Turkey, high immigration research area, female, 31–39 age group,
without migration aspirations

The interview analyses yielded new insights that, in turn, required closer scrutiny. First, qualitative evidence showed that migration aspirations are affected not only by perceptions of job availability and of corruption levels but also by perceptions of specific other human rights and democracy-related aspects – that is, educational opportunities and equal gender opportunities also impact positively on migration aspirations. Second, gender-specific family-related determinants were identified as relevant in the qualitative study. More specifically, being married and having children appeared to have a relatively significant negative influence on migration aspirations. The qualitative analyses also found that having relatives who have previously migrated is relatively more important to women than to men as an incentive to migrate. Third, the qualitative data demonstrated that particularly in Senegal and Morocco, informants were outspoken in considering migration to Europe.

Deconstructing aspirations to migrate to ‘Europe’

In a subsequent step, the project decided to take a closer look at the survey data in light of the interview analysis results. In this section we outline the quantitative data collection in the four countries and 16 selected research areas (four in each country). The research population was delimited to those between 18 and 39 years old because this cohort has the highest probability to perceive emigration as a possibility (see also the methodological annex on the survey). The dependent variable in the following part of the analysis is the aspiration to migrate to Europe. In the survey conducted in the EUMAGINE project, respondents were asked whether they want to migrate to another country.⁶ In a follow-up question, respondents who said that they have aspirations to migrate to another country were also asked to which country they would prefer to go. The combination of these two questions resulted in a variable that measures the migration aspirations to Europe.⁷ Europe appeared to be the chosen destination of most individuals covered by this study. Of the 8,000 respondents in the four countries (Morocco, Turkey, Senegal and Ukraine), 3,605 reported having aspirations to migrate to ‘Europe’ (compared with 3,629 who expressed no migration aspirations, the remainder aspiring to migrate elsewhere (720 respondents) or representing missing data (46 respondents)) (weighted data). Individuals who reported a desire to migrate to a destination other than

Europe were excluded from this part of the analysis.⁸ The following independent variables were used to test the new qualitative findings in a statistical analysis of the whole sample:

- (1) age;
- (2) marital status;
- (3) children;
- (4) family migration experience;
- (5) perceived job opportunities in their own country;
- (6) perceived job opportunities in Europe;
- (7) gender;
- (8) years of education;
- (9) position on a material wealth index.⁹

In addition, a new variable was constructed for the purpose of measuring

- (10) perceptions of social opportunities in Europe;
- (11) perceptions of social opportunities in their own country.

The presence of gender-specific family-related motivations for European migration aspirations was also examined statistically.

The following three additional elements are taken into account. First, qualitative cross-country analyses found evidence of the relevance of perceptions of other democracy and human rights-related determinants for explaining migration aspirations. More specifically, perceptions of educational opportunities and gender equality came to the fore as relevant incentives for migration in many interviews. In the next statistical analysis, it was therefore hypothesized that positive perceptions of social opportunities in Europe led to a greater probability of an aspiration to migrate to Europe [*Hypothesis 1*]. Second, the qualitative cross-country analyses also suggested that women who were married or had children had fewer migration aspirations than men in a comparable situation. On the other hand, women who had migrant relatives (over 16 years of age) were more positively inclined towards migration than men with relatives who had migrated. Therefore it was postulated that family-related determinants (having children, being married and belonging to transnational family networks) are relatively more relevant to women than to men in shaping potential migration aspirations [*Hypothesis 2*]. And, third, from the qualitative cross-country data analysis, it was found that, especially in Senegal and Morocco, respondents were particularly outspoken in considering migration to Europe. Thus it was postulated that Senegalese respondents are most likely to have migration aspirations, followed by Moroccan, Ukrainian

and Turkish respondents [*Hypothesis 3*]. The analysis applied binary logistic regression with migration aspiration to Europe as the dependent variable.

In the following sections, three models are presented: (1) a full model covering all respondents; (2) a model focusing on female respondents only; and (3) a model focusing on male respondents only. All models were calculated for all four countries combined. To perform our statistical analyses, we filled in missing values with the technique of multiple imputation (fully conditional specification). We calculated ten multiple imputed datasets and executed binary logistic analysis.¹⁰ Although in reality the decision to migrate can be a collective one by males and females, it was decided that the focus should be on the migration aspirations of men and women separately. We analysed the quantitative data with SPSS 21.

Description of the full model: All respondents (n = 7127)

The first model reports on the analysis of the full sample of those aspiring to migrate to Europe (Table 9.1). Turkish respondents have the lowest probability to aspire to migration to Europe, followed by

Table 9.1 Full model (men and women)

Variables	Odds ratio	Significance
Turkey	0.676	0.00
Senegal	2.156	0.00
Ukraine	0.839	0.059
Wealth index	1.271	0.00
Age	0.982	0.00
Marital status	1.535	0.00
Children	1.232	0.01
Gender	1.494	0.00
Family migration experience	1.470	0.00
Scale of social opportunities in their own country	1.308	0.00
Scale of social opportunities in Europe	1.437	0.00
Perception on job opportunities in their own country	1.189	0.00
Perception on job opportunities in Europe	1.156	0.00
Years of education	1.071	0.00
Years of education ²	0.996	0.00
Intercept	0.028	0.00
AUC	0.72	

Source: individual questionnaire (STUM20121001); weighted data.

respondents living in the Ukraine, Morocco and Senegal. In model 1 we took Morocco as the reference category.¹¹

Description of the models with female and male respondents (models 2 and 3)

When divided by gender, the analysis reveals gender-specific determinants of migration aspirations to Europe (tables 9.2 and 9.3). It is important to emphasize at this point that women in one country are compared with women in the other countries and not men, while men in one country are compared only with men in the other countries.

We tested for significant gender differences between regression parameters. The positive effect of previous family migration experience appears to be stronger among women than among men. Moreover, the negative effect of being married and having children is stronger among women than among men.¹² Male respondents, on the other hand, are more likely to have migration aspirations to Europe if they hold more positive perceptions of social opportunities in Europe. Although this positive effect is stronger among men than among women, it is positive for both groups. Interestingly, the impact of material wealth, age

Table 9.2 Model 2: female respondents only (n = 3777)

Variables	Odds ratio	Significance
Turkey	0.619	0.00
Senegal	2.634	0.00
Ukraine	0.907	0.469
Wealth index	1.229	0.00
Age	0.989	0.102
Marital status	1.581	0.00
Children	1.363	0.004
Family migration experience	1.807	0.00
Scale of social opportunities in their own country	1.459	0.00
Scale of social opportunities in Europe	1.297	0.00
Perception on job opportunities in their own country	1.128	0.001
Perception on job opportunities in Europe	1.138	0.00
Years of education	1.09	0.00
Years of education ²	0.995	0.001
Intercept	0.029	0.00
AUC	0.71	

Source: individual questionnaire (STUM20121001); weighted data.

Table 9.3 Model 3: male respondents only (n = 3350)

Variables	Odds ratio	Significance
Turkey	0.767	0.033
Senegal	1.694	0.00
Ukraine	0.782	0.057
Wealth index	1.328	0.00
Age	0.972	0.00
Marital status	1.468	0.002
Children	1.108	0.427
Family migration experience	1.166	0.069
Scale of social opportunities in their own country	1.189	0.003
Scale of social opportunities in Europe	1.656	0.00
Perception on job opportunities in their own country	1.261	0.00
Perception on job opportunities in Europe	1.193	0.00
Years of education	1.047	0.086
Years of education ²	0.996	0.015
Intercept	0.036	0.00
AUC	0.70	

Source: individual questionnaire (STUM20121001); weighted data.

and perceived job opportunities in Europe does not change dramatically when male and female respondents are analysed separately.

Under hypothesis one, a positive perception of social opportunities in Europe was assumed to lead to a higher probability to aspire to migration to Europe. Family-related determinants (having children, being married and belonging to transnational family networks) were assumed to be particularly relevant in modelling migration aspirations among women. Finally, Senegalese respondents were assumed to be most likely to hold migration aspirations, followed by Moroccan, Ukrainian and Turkish respondents. All three hypotheses were confirmed.

Conclusion

The aspiration to migrate to another country may be influenced by different considerations, and determinants of migration aspirations can be analysed at three distinct levels: the macro-, meso- and microlevels. Under the EUMAGINE project, the hypothesis was formulated that migration aspirations are affected by perceptions of democracy and human rights – broadly defined – while controlling for other relevant

factors that are situated at the macro-, meso- and/or microlevels. On the basis of the analyses of data collected in accordance with quantitative and qualitative methodologies, we were able to (partially) confirm our hypothesis. As expected, migration aspirations are codetermined by additional factors situated at different social or societal levels. At the outset of the project, it was assumed that the general macrocontexts of the countries of origin and destination influence people's migration aspirations. The overall social, political and economic context of the four countries studied is very different, with Turkey having made most progress over recent decades in terms of economic growth. Turkey is today one of the fastestgrowing economies in the world. On the other hand, Europe – despite its high scores with respect to a variety of economic and development indicators – is in the midst of a significant economic crisis. The probability of having migration aspirations appeared to be the highest in Senegal followed by Morocco and Ukraine, and it was the lowest in Turkey. This finding was also corroborated in the qualitative cross-country analyses.

It was similarly assumed that several factors at the mesolevel affect people's migration aspirations. The cross-country analyses pointed to the relevance of belonging to transnational family networks in considering migration. Women in particular mentioned explicitly the relevance of the presence of relatives abroad when considering migration. The specific community to which people belong is equally expected to influence their migration aspirations. For this purpose, within each country, four research areas were selected that were affected to varying degrees by emigration and/or democracy and human rights issues. While we found that, in Morocco, migration aspirations were – as expected – very outspoken in the research area characterized by a culture of migration or the high-emigration area, the opposite was observed in the Turkish high-emigration area. In the Turkish high-emigration area, research results revealed that informants were often critical of Europe and that they took due account of its ongoing economic crisis in considering migration. While not significant, the survey results for Turkey do provide an indication that migration aspirations are lower in the high-emigration research area than in the low-emigration research area. One possible explanation is that, in the Turkish high-emigration research area, where many people have relatives who are already living in Europe, negative feedback about the situation in Europe is received via these transnational family networks. Given Turkey's positive economic prospects, this negative feedback may be assumed to constitute a disincentive for migration. This effect may also be assumed to be less

in evidence in the other, lower-emigration research areas, which are less strongly connected to Europe through transnational family networks. In Morocco, where the economic outlook is less positive, the balance is still in favour of Europe, as demonstrated in both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses. This suggests that macro- and mesolevel characteristics are instrumental in explaining migration aspirations. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that, in Turkey's high-emigration area, the stock of potential migrants has been exhausted, in consequence of the high emigration rate observed in recent decades. In addition, evidence was found of the relevance of several individual and/or household characteristics in predicting migration aspirations. It was demonstrated that factors such as gender and lifecycle-related variables (e.g. age and marital status) affect people's desire to emigrate. Household wealth and education also play a significant role, but to considerably varying extents across countries and research areas. The cross-country qualitative analyses demonstrated that, for women in particular, marriage and/or parenthood are explicitly associated with lower migration aspirations.

To conclude, the results of the EUMAGINE project demonstrate the relevance of perceptions in explaining migration aspirations. The results show that people are motivated not only by the economic opportunities that may come with migration but also by perceptions of educational opportunities, gender equality and the absence of corruption in Europe. At the same time, it was demonstrated that factors situated at different societal levels also affect people's migration aspirations. At the macrolevel, the overall socioeconomic situation impacts on migration aspirations; at the mesolevel, living in a migration-impacted region and belonging to transnational family networks – which are arguably forceful instruments of feedback – were found to be significant factors; and at the microlevel, elements such as household wealth, age, gender, marital status, parenthood, previous migration experiences and educational attainment level were all shown to impact on individuals' migration aspirations. As regards gender, there are indications that it affects aspirations differently – for example, in terms of the relevance to women of transnational family networks. Further research will help to delve deeper into these assumptions.

Methodological annex on the survey

Quantitatively, we aimed to draw a representative sample of 500 respondents within the 16 research areas (8,000 respondents in total). We used

a stratified cluster sample with random walks.¹³ The research areas were first stratified according to a rural–urban dimension and subcounties. Interviews were distributed according to the size of the strata. More specifically, 50 batches of 10 interviews in each research area were distributed according to the relative size of the strata (Ersanilli *et al.*, 2011: 58). A list of clusters (neighbourhoods, villages) was made for each stratum. After deciding on the number of clusters in each stratum, batches of 10 interviews were sampled at fixed intervals.¹⁴ A random walk was executed to select households. Within selected households (defined as 'all persons who live under the same roof, normally eat together and have communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life'), respondents were randomly chosen.¹⁵ The selected respondents were questioned face to face in the first half of 2011 with structured paper-and-pencil questionnaires. The selection of respondents in the research areas continued until 500 interviews were completed.¹⁶ In order to perform statistical analysis, the data had to be weighted to account for differences in the selection probability of respondents.¹⁷

Age is a continuous variable measuring the age of respondents. We mean-centred the variable for the whole sample. A number of respondents in our sample were younger than 18 and older than 39. These were excluded from our analysis (119 respondents, including two missing). The variable *marital status* is coded 1 when respondents were unmarried, divorced, widowed or separated and coded 0 when respondents were married/monogamous, married/polygamous or living with a partner/not married. The variable *children* is a dichotomous variable measuring whether respondents have at least one child (coded as 0). The variable is coded 1 when there are no children. In order to measure *family migration experience*, respondents had to indicate whether they 'have any family members above 16 years old who are currently living in another country and who have been in contact with you at least once over the past 12 months'. It is important to note that respondents also indicated whether they had recent contact with these family members or not. The variable was coded dichotomous (0 means no family migration experience; 1 means family migration experience).

The *perception of job opportunities in Europe* was measured with a statement whether or not according to the respondent 'it is easy to find a good job in Europe'. People were also asked whether 'it is easy to find a good job' in their own country. The variable *perception of job opportunities in the own country* has a similar coding to the previous variable: strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree. The variable *gender* has male as category 1 and female

as category 0. The variable *years of education* is coded as 0 (no education, only Coranic school, only basic literacy or national language), 1 (pre-school in Morocco, Turkey and Senegal), primary school-old system in Turkey (1–5), primary education in Morocco and Senegal (2–7), primary school in Ukraine (1–4), lower secondary education in Morocco and Senegal (8–11), secondary school in Ukraine (5–9), upper secondary education in Morocco and Senegal (12–14), upper secondary school in Ukraine (until 2001) (5–11), upper secondary school (since 2001) (5–12), higher education in Morocco and Senegal (15–22), primary school in Turkey (2–9), lower secondary school old system in Turkey (6–8), higher vocational school in Turkey (9–11), upper secondary school old system in Turkey (10–12), upper secondary school old system in Turkey (10–13), vocational school or İÖÖ (10–13), polytechnic (until 2001) in Ukraine (11–14), polytechnic (since 2001) in Ukraine (13–16), university or polytechnic in Turkey (14–17), university in Ukraine (until 2001) in Ukraine (11–15), university (since 2001) in Ukraine or doctorate in Turkey and Ukraine (18–23).

Furthermore, we made an index measuring the *material wealth* of respondents in both regions as a variable with principal component analysis (varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization).¹⁸ The scale goes from high to low material wealth (0 to 4). The scale is internally consistent: the Cronbach alpha of the material wealth index computed for all countries together is 0.86.

We defined human rights in a broad sense, including the quality of schools, life of men and women, governmental poverty reduction and health care. Questions in our survey measured the *perception of social opportunities in Europe and their own country* (five questions for Europe and five questions for their own country). The Cronbach alpha for the scale measuring the perceptions of social opportunities in Europe was 0.74. The Cronbach alpha or the internal consistency of the scale measuring these perceptions in their own country was 0.75. The questions measuring the perception of social opportunities in Europe are coded 0 (very bad) to 4 (very good) and very good (0) to very bad (4) for the questions measuring the perception of social opportunities in their own country. Finally, the *four countries* were coded in dummy variables: one for Morocco, Turkey and Senegal, and one for Ukraine.

Notes

1. This research was carried out thanks to the support of the European Commission, Directorate-General for Research, 7th Framework Programme for

- Research – Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities (grant agreement nr. 244703). The information and views set out in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of the European Communities. Neither the European Communities institutions and bodies nor any person acting on their behalf may be held responsible for the use which may be made of the information contained therein. The EUMAGINE project is co-funded by the European Community FP7 2007–2013, under the Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities programme.
2. This introduction is largely based on Timmerman, Heyse and van Mol (2010).
 3. The research consortium consisted of eight partner institutions (Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) and the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Koc University in Turkey, the Université Mohamed V – Agdal (UMVA) in Morocco, the Centre of Sociological research (CSR) in Ukraine, and the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) in Senegal), and it was coordinated by the University of Antwerp (CeMIS) in Belgium.
 4. The research areas characterized by high-emigration rates were Todgha Valley in Morocco, Emirdağ in Turkey, Darou Mousty in Senegal and Zbarazh Rayon in Ukraine; the research areas economically similar but with low emigration rates were Central Plateau in Morocco, Dinar in Turkey, Lambaye in Senegal and Znamyanska Rayon in Ukraine; the research areas with a strong immigration history were Tanger in Morocco, Fatih in Turkey, Golf Sud in Senegal and Solomyansky rayon in Ukraine; and finally the research areas with a specific human rights situation were Tounfite in Morocco, Van Merkez in Turkey, Orkadiéré in Senegal and Novovodolaz'ka Rayon in Ukraine.
 5. The quotes in this chapter are translated from French (for Morocco and Senegal), Turkish and Ukrainian.
 6. 'Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to go abroad to live or work?'
 7. The following countries mean 'Europe' in this article: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Belarus, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Europe, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK, Ukraine and Western Europe.
 8. Split up by country: in Morocco, 1,113 reported having aspirations to migrate to 'Europe' (compared with 835 who expressed no migration aspirations, 51 respondents aspiring to migrate elsewhere and the rest being missing); in Turkey, 644 respondents have migration aspirations to Europe (compared with 1,203 with no migration aspirations, 146 with migration aspirations to elsewhere and the rest being missing); in Senegal, 519 respondents have no migration aspirations, 1,178 respondents have migration aspirations to Europe and 301 respondents have migration aspirations to elsewhere; in Ukraine, 1,072 respondents have no migration aspirations, 670 respondents have migration aspirations to Europe and 222 respondents have migration aspirations to elsewhere.
 9. A wealth index was developed by de Haas and Jolivet in De Clerck *et al.* 2012.
 10. We imputed all missing values with the multiple imputation technique. Only the missing values on the variable that measures age were not imputed

- because they were put on missing deliberately (people aged approximately less than 18 or more than 39 years old).
11. Taking Ukraine as the reference category results in the same conclusion. In a previous model, citizenship, other nationalities and the possession of a residence permit for another country were also included (see De Clerck *et al.*, 2012). These three variables did not have a significant effect on the migration aspiration to Europe in the full model and were therefore excluded in the above model.
 12. The difference between men and women for marital status is close to being non-significant ($p < 0.10$).
 13. See Ersanilli (2012) and Ersanilli *et al.* (2011) for more details.
 14. See Ersanilli *et al.* 2011, pp. 39, 59–63, and Ersanilli 2012, pp. 9, 15.
 15. See Ersanilli (2012) and Ersanilli *et al.* 2011, pp. 11–17 for more details.
 16. See Ersanilli 2012, pp. 8–9, 19–20.
 17. A selection probability weight was calculated for the within-household selection for each stratum (see also Ersanilli 2012, pp. 26).
 18. Based on the work by Jolivet and de Haas in De Clerck *et al.* 2012. Some 19 questions in the survey measured whether respondents had access to electricity, a modern flush toilet connected to sewerage in the residence, running hot water, a shower in the residence, a radio, a television, a satellite dish and receiver, a video/VCR/DVD player, a telephone (landline or mobile phone), a computer at home, an internet connection at home, a refrigerator, a gas/electric stove, a dishwasher, air-conditioning, a washing machine, a bicycle, a moped/motorcycle and a car/truck/van. Components with an eigenvalue of higher than 1 were combined into an index. The explained variance of each component was used to multiply with the regression factor score of the component in question. The multiplied scores were then summed into one index. Components with an eigenvalue of higher than 1 were extracted.

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PROOF

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Chapter 9

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AQ1	223	wish to move – Okay?